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CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals; they drink for joy and sorrow; they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world; and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and the system of law and government as their derivatives

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the system of law and government as their derivatives.

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework.

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 21).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality. "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the anal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic nurses.) Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them: these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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Nigwi section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the Ewo Nigwi section- the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Porta Henabi section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the Ewo Nigwi group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Kapalia Iroafa section. Since the people of Porta Henabi wanted a medical clinic, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of Ewo Nigwi into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

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It is not only the complex of aphinctor training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

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hold the child high overhead, open the mouth and then close it over the child's genitals. The game is never played with female children. As far as gross observation can tell, the experience is not at all frightening to the child; it is, however, oral incorporation of no mean order and fits quite comfortably within the pattern that is beginning to unfold. Alternately rejected and over-indulged, the child is unable to develop a sense of security, personal worth, or control over his behavior.

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> What enduring qualities are rooted in this muscular and anal stage? From the sense of inner goodness emanates autonomy and pride; from the sense of badness, doubt and shame. To develop autonomy a firmly developed and convincingly continued state of early trust is necessary. The infant must come to feel that his basic faith in himself and in the world (which is the lasting treasure saved from the conflicts of the oral stage) will not be jeopardized by this sudden violent wish to have a choice, to appropriate demandingly and to eliminate stubbornly. . . His environment must both live up to his wish to "stand on his own feet" lest he be overcome by that sense . . . which we call shame, or that secondary mistrust . . . which we call doubt (Erickson 1950: 68-69).

"Autonomous motivation," for Dorothy Lee, is the ring and pin of the human condition (Lee 1961:103-121). But autonomy and pride or doubt and shame are derived from the resolution of the problems that beset the child

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through the various stages of his psychosexual development. For the Cayapa, autonomous motivation and independence is considerably reduced and heard only faintly in a very muted minor key. Even the penis is said to be able to think for itself, at least in terms of sex, for "when the penis wants to bother a woman it erects itself." This seeming lack of involvement or control of an erogenous body area has been amply demonstrated in terms of Erickson's psychosexual approach. This is paralleled to some extent by Robert W. White's discussion of effectance motivation, wherein the organism attempts to develop competence and mastery over his environment, and competence, states White, finds expression elsewhere, as well as in the erogenous bodily zones. As we shall see, this is most certainly not an either/or proposition, but more in the nature of a complimentary approach to Erickson's framework. White's position is very important for the light it throws on the Cayapa data, and requires an extended quotation.

> Clearly we are dealing with important problems of development, but is it correct to place the decisive struggle in the bathroom? Does the child in toilet training provide an adequate model, a sufficient interpretative nucleus, for all that is going on? Let us

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introduce again the competence model and see whether or not it can help us with the problems of this stage. It is worth noticing at the outset that direct observation does not give the libido theory the kind of support it provided in the oral stage. To be sure, there is plenty of evidence, even in the pages of the clean-minded Gesell, that children are interested in anal functions, that they play with feces, and that they experience frustration and conflict over the process of training. But direct observation would never suggest that these happenings were the central preoccupations of the second and third years, nor would introspection convince us that retaining and eliminating could have anything like the intensity of oral pleasure. The evidence for a stage of predominantly anal libido thus rests heavily upon the reconstructions that occur in psychoanalytic treatment. On the other hand direct observation has long recognized a sharp and significant crisis in human relations, usually called two-year old negativism . . . We may be dealing here with a profound intrinsic crisis in the growth of social competence.

Let us ask what the child accomplishes during the second and third years in the way of competent interactions with his environment. As regards locomotion he starts as an awkward toddler, but by the middle of the second year he becomes a restless runabout . . . It is this picture of persistent, driven motor activity that led Mittelmann . . . to postulate a motility urge. The second and third years . . . show the most rapid growth of motility; he even asserts that at this stage the motor urge "dominated all other urges." Motility is seen by him as "one of the most important avenues for exercising such functions as mastery, integration, reality testing, and control of impulses--usually referred to in analysis as ego functions." There is an increasing emphasis now on motor accomplishment leading to self-esteem (White 1960: 115-116).

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Given his peculiarly harsh, intense and very early training in sphincter control, the Cayuga's autonomous motivation, or competence, is derived in no small degree from the little drama that is enacted daily on the causeway behind the cooking area. This interpretation of the rigorous training, however, does not refute the importance of the motility urge, but enhances it. As a rule, the child undergoes the severe training in sphincter control and pathaja weaning, at the same time that he is frustrated in his exploratory forays outside the house, precisely when he is in the stage of heightened motility. The Cayuga house is usually built without walls: it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. As a result, he is not permitted to master, integrate and test the world outside his home. He is confined within the house except for family movements for work-visits with relations or to fishing [Where he is still confined within the limits of the house?] This confinement lasts

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayuga child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, caried teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy. During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and no vegetable is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayuga is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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thirteen spoke of "maybe twice a week." It would appear that the Cayapa, even at his [illegible] best, operates normally at a very low level. One Cayapa termed coitus "[illegible]—a little like work." Another informant, when asked if he enjoyed sex, replied, "[illegible]—sure I like it, but not much." It is my impression that there is a very large minority among the Cayapa who feel along with Lord Chesterfield that "the position is ridiculous, the pleasure is momentary, and the price is outrageous."

The women's genital behavior is more forward, as witnessed by our legal material, so that it must be asked, "If female children receive the same kind and amount of toilet training as the male, and the same rocking and weaning, how can this come about, especially since I have postulated that the male sexual patterns arise out of oral fixation which is the result of the juxtaposition of harsh sphincter training and breast feeding and/or weaning?"

Both males and females strive for greatly intensified oral interpretation. Not only is sexual intercourse spoken of as the vagina eating the penis, but a man tells a woman with whom he enjoys sex "/n³ú cuimhu/—

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your vagina is delicious." but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'grasginess' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:90).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

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Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, become formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges [Sahlins 1965:76-87]. For the Cayuga, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayuga practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayuga guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayuga house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently: if it is a Cayuga canoe, excited whispers are heard "/ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Camerones, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong fiestas at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but erotic in the sense of a transfer of libininal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the fiestas. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962:269), why then do we not find it in its sexual

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Rieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Encanto, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sapallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he consider to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

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Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong committment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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anxiety of Cayapa life.

Given these features of Cayapa life and culture it may be seen that tribal cohesion can best be achieved by means of a chief who fulfills the requirements of dominance that goes hand in glove with attitudes of submission in a people who lack both confidence and competence. Political behavior as described in the body of the text may be viewed as a projective system, in Kardiner's terms, wherein an attempt is made to mold the present chief into an image of their ego ideal.